

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SP-02 INR-07 PM-05 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0213

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12502

GENEVA FOR USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC, GW

SUBJECT: GELB VISIT: CONSULTATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES

BEGIN SUMMARY: AN EXTENSIVE, FRANK AND WIDE-RANGING CONSULTATION WITH FRG DEFENSE MINISTRY AND FOREIGN OFFICE EXPERTS AFFORDED FRG AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS GERMAN CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES IN SALT, AND POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION CRUISE MISSILES MIGHT MAKE TO NATO DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE. IN HIS PRESENTATION, GELB GAVE FRG POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETAILS WHICH SUPPORTED US PAPER ON CRUISE MISSILES GIVEN NATO RECENTLY, AND STRESSED THAT FRG SHOULD NOT INTERPRET US PAPER AS "ANTI-CRUISE MISSILE," BUT AS REPRESENTING OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ON THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF POSSIBLE THEATER APPLICATIONS. US SIDE EMPHASIZED IN ITS REPLIES TO GERMAN QUESTIONS THAT IN THE THREE YEAR PROTOCOL THE US INTENDS TO PROTECT ESSENTIAL THEATER CRUISE MISSILE OPTIONS AND TO CONTINUE TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILE PROGRAMS. FRG

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CONCERNS CENTERED ON INCREASED THREAT POSED TO WESTERN EUROPE BY MOBILE SS-X-20, ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN SOVIET AIR DEFENSES, AND CONSEQUENT PERCEIVED NEED TO USE CRUISE MISSILES AS A PERCEPTUAL IF NOT MILITARY COUNTER-- TO MAINTAIN WESTERN CAPABILITY TO COVER THE MR/IRBM THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE. FRG APPRECIATED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BUT IT WAS EVIDENT AT CONCLUSION OF

CONSULTATIONS THAT GERMAN CONCERNS REMAIN. END SUMMARY.

1. GELB'S EXPLANATION OF THE US POSITION ON CRUISE
MISSILES IN SALT CONCLUDED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NO
ESSENTIAL PROGRAMS OR TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE
MISSILES IS PRECLUDED IN THE US DISCUSSION OF CRUISE
MISSILES IN SALT WITH THE SOVIETS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT
DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES IN VARIOUS MODES AND US
THINKING REGARDING THEIR ROLE AND MISSIONS HAVE ONLY
REACHED FIRST STAGES AND ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO TAKE SHAPE
IN MANY AREAS.

2. GERMAN QUESTIONING, LED BY MG BRANDT (POL/MIL
DIRECTOR, FMOD), WAS MARKED BY SERIOUS CONCERN OVER
THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE POSED BY MOBILE SS-X-20.
MOREOVER, ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN SOVIET AIR DEFENSES
WILL IMPAIR NATO'S ABILITY TO COVER TARGETS IN THE WES-
TERN MILITARY DISTRICT BY THE MID-1980'S. THUS,
ACCORDING TO GERMAN THINKING, CRUISE MISSILES ARE
NECESSARY TO PRESERVE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY OF NATO IN
THAT THEY REPRESENT A PERCEPTUAL COUNTER. FOR THIS
REASON, LIMITS ON DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENTS
ON CRUISE MISSILES ARE TO BE AVOIDED IN SALT.

3. BRANDT'S SECOND MAIN CONCERN WAS THAT, GIVEN THE
SIMILARITY IN MISSIONS OF CRUISE MISSILES AND FBS, WHY
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HAVE CRUISE MISSILES BEEN INCLUDED IN SALT AND SS-X-20
EXCLUDED? HE SUGGESTED SS-20 BE PART OF SALT III.

4. GERMAN QUESTIONING ALSO REVEALED CONCERN THAT:

-- LACK OF AN AGREED DEFINITION OF WHAT A CRUISE
MISSILE IS WOULD LEAD TO POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD
CLAIM THAT ANY LIMITATION IN SALT DRAFTED TO APPLY TO
CRUISE MISSILES ALSO APPLIES TO OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS;

-- THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION IS
LINKED TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION;

-- THE LACK OF INFORMATION REGARDING COST EFFECTIVE-
NESS OF CRUISE MISSILES LEADS TO CONFUSION OVER THEIR
MISSION;

-- A TESTING LIMIT ON CRUISE MISSILES MIGHT INHIBIT
THEIR DEPLOYMENT;

-- ACCEPTANCE OF LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES IN

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THE THREE-YEAR PROTOCOL WOULD SET A PRECEDENT FOR SALT

III;

-- LACK OF A CONVENTIONAL MISSION FOR LONG-RANGE
CRUISE MISSILES AFFORDS THEM A ROLE ONLY IN A GENERAL
NUCLEAR RESPONSE;

-- LINK OF CRUISE MISSILES WITH MBFR HAS NOT BEEN
THOUGHT OUT;

-- SATELLITE INTELLIGENCE FOR TARGETING OF CRUISE
MISSILES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED AND SHARED WITH ALLIES.

5. US REPLIES TO ABOVE QUESTIONS CONTAINED TECHNICAL
INFORMATION RE CRUISE MISSILES AND GAVE GERMAN EXPERTS
A THOROUGH STATUS REPORT ON PRESENT US THINKING ON ROLE
CRUISE MISSILES WILL EVENTUALLY PLAY. GERMANS WERE TOLD
THAT CRUISE MISSILES ARE PART OF SALT NEGOTIATING HIS-
TORY AND THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE IF WE ARE TO MAKE
PROGRESS IN SALT. US IS PROTECTING ITS OPTIONS, HOWEVER.

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6. US PRESENTATION WAS EXPERT, THOROUGH, AND RESPONSIVE TO GERMAN QUESTIONS. EMBASSY BELIEVES IT PRODUCED A MOST USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE MUST CAUTION THAT GERMAN CONCERN CONTINUES. WE HOPE WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO BRIEF THE FRG.

7. MR. GELB CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.
STOESSEL

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Message Attributes

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